

THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. V.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

THE LIBERATOR

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BOSTON:

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1835.

THE MAYOR OF BOSTON.

(Continued from week before last.)

On the 21st of October, in the full sun-light of heaven, Washington-street, between Court and Market streets, was completely obstructed by a concourse of rioters, who were besieging the Anti-Slavery Office, and endeavoring by violence to disperse a peaceful meeting of females. The Mayor, apprised of the fact, hastened to the spot, with a very small constabulary force. It was his duty, first, to command the mob to disperse; secondly, if they did not, to read the Riot Act; and, thirdly, if this proved unavailing, to order out the military, and clear the street at the point of the bayonet. Of these three alternatives, he resorted to neither. He first informed the crowd that Mr. Thompson was not in the building, and then requested them to retire. In apologising for the Mayor, our correspondent asks of complainants, 'Have you ever attempted to put down a mob yourselves?' But he might as pertinently inquire, 'Have you ever filled the office of President of the United States?' The real question is, and it is a very serious one, to which no answer has been given—Why did not the Mayor read the Riot Act, and order the rioters to disperse? Suppose the court should propound this question to him, and he should reply, 'Have you ever attempted to put down a mob yourselves?' This, it is true, would be the Yankee mode of replying, but would the question of the court be answered? and trifling in court, as our correspondent well knows, is no trifling matter. Should the court condescend to answer the Mayor's interrogation, I think the reply would be, if made with republican impartiality and boldness—'No, but we send to prison the man who refuses to enforce the laws when clothed with authority, and especially do we punish the officer who, instead of protecting, joins in destroying private property, at the mandate of a mob.' Will it be assumed that the reading of the Riot Act would have been of no avail? How does the objector know? Is the reading of the Riot Act predicated upon the willingness of a mob to obey it? If so, let the fact be understood—let rioters understand that they may or may not disperse, as they shall think proper.

Unquestionably, the most criminal part of the Mayor's conduct was in ordering the Anti-Slavery sign to be hurled to the ground, with the vain hope, peradventure, of appeasing the disgraceful tumult. Truly, it was a wicked and adulterous generation seeking a sign, that they might destroy it—and it was the sign of LIBERTY. It is needless to ask, by what authority the Mayor ordered it to be taken down, for he had none. The act, as a precedent, is fraught with direful consequences: it placed the Mayor at once at the head of the 'respectable and wealthy' rioters, and they cheered it lustily: it was perpetrated at a time and under circumstances, that heightened its enormity; and it gave token that mob-law was triumphant in the city of Boston! No wonder that the rioters were led exultingly to 'jump Jim Crow' upon the sign, and to redouble their shouts as they dashed it in pieces! I do not charge the Mayor with any malicious intentions—I am disposed to be so far charitable, as to suppose that he removed the sign in expectation that its destruction would induce the mob to disperse. If so, he has proved himself to be wholly unfit to fill his present office. His weakness—his lack of decision—his respect for the 'respectable and wealthy' anarchists, which deterred him from resorting to measures of severity, (though if they had appeared in rags instead of fine broad-cloth, and had belonged to the 'lower orders' instead of the 'higher classes' of society, he would probably have had fewer scruples about using cold lead)—these things make his conduct execrable, to say nothing of his motives, except to suppose that they were good.

The Mayor was blame-worthy, also, in ordering the ladies to retire, making his order more imperative by assuring them that unless they left the hall immediately, he could not guarantee them any protection. They spiritedly remonstrated against such a procedure—but he told them he had no time to argue the matter—they must retire, or be exposed to the tender mercies of lewd and riotous men. The President, with the utmost calmness and propriety, said—'Sir, I will take the sense of the meeting as to the expediency of an adjournment.' With great agitation, he desired them to waive that formality: but the President requested the ladies to be seated—a motion to adjourn was then made, seconded and carried, and thus the meeting ended in an orderly manner. So that, in truth, the 'imaginary dialogue' of 'HAXCOCK,' of which our correspondent complains, was not altogether imaginary, but was based upon facts, one of which is, that the Mayor declared that it was no mob, but a collection of respectable citizens. The dispersion of the ladies was another proof that mob-law was triumphant.

The Mayor also failed to perform his duty in regard to his own protection. By urging me to leave the building, he exposed me to the vengeance of the mob, though it was very far from his intention: but it was his duty to protect me in the Anti-Slavery Office. True, he told me that he feared he could not do so, but he might at least have tried. Throughout this memorable scene, his sins were rather those of omission than of commission, except in removing the sign; but, some-

times, sins of omission are more heinous, and fraught with more terrible consequences, than those which are actually committed. In the day of judgment, our Saviour has told us that the sentence against many is to run—'Inasmuch as ye did it not, &c.' Thinking, if I remained in the building in opposition to the advice of the Mayor and others, I should be accused of obstinacy, and a desire to be needlessly sacrificed, I therefore left it. The sequel of the adventure is known.

It was the height of imprudence, if not absolute cruelty, on the part of the Mayor, in making it necessary for me to leave his office after I was rescued from the hands of the rioters. He certainly might have protected me in it until they had dispersed, although he held a different opinion. Reflection might have told him that the hazard of my removal was imminent, if not insurmountable. It is true, I made no objection, because freedom of choice did not appertain to my situation. But what could have been more rash than the attempt to drive me in a carriage to jail, through a dense crowd of infuriated men, who were eager to glut their undevoted animosity upon my person? That it was successful is truly a marvel; for the scene around the carriage was indescribably perilous.

It was an outrage upon innocence, and a prostitution of power, in committing me to jail as a disturber of the peace. Until I was called to listen to the reading of the warrant before the court on the ensuing day, I had not the slightest intimation or suspicion, that I was incarcerated on a criminal charge. I know, indeed, that the whole affair was a farce—that it was got up to cause a dispersion of the mob—and that no attempt was made to prove the allegations against me in the mitimus; but I marvel that men can thus resort to falsehood, and sacrifice their own veracity, and take upon their lips the solemnity of an oath, on the ground that it is sometimes lawful to do evil that good may come. In my false imprisonment was seen another triumph of mob-law in the city of Boston!

It was an outrage upon public decency, and a contempt of law, on the part of the company who marched through the streets of the city with the figures of George Thompson and a colored woman painted upon a board for a target, with a certain inscription upon it. It was the spirit of murder embodied, and boldly stalking through our midst, to the music of the drum and fife. It was a representation well calculated, and unquestionably designed, to increase the hyena ferocity of the multitude against one of the noblest philanthropists of the age, and whom posterity will rank among the choicest benefactors of this country. When this humiliating transaction was going on, where were the city authorities with the Mayor at their head? The procession marched by the City Hall, as if anxious to afford the Mayor and Aldermen the best view of its folly and wickedness. All this was done with impunity.

Here, then, are twelve specifications, clearly condemnatory of the Mayor and city authorities, and I think they amply sustain the positions which 'HAXCOCK' assumed in his communication. While I agree with 'AN ABOLITIONIST,' that we should endeavor to judge charitably of their conduct, and not ascribe to it the worst possible motives—I also think that, at a crisis like the present, we ought to be careful not to palliate the sacrifice of duty and the violation of law, because they are made by respectable and wealthy men. Indeed, his communication only shows how impracticable it is to make a sound defence in a bad cause. He expresses his regret that Mr. Lyman 'should have aided on that disgraceful occasion,' alluding to the Faneuil Hall meeting; he thinks its tendency 'was probably to encourage lawless violence against abolitionists'; he believes that proper effort ought to have been made to detect the midnight gallow-makers; he 'will not, for a moment, justify the Mayor in sanctioning the removal of the Society's sign'; he will not attempt to justify his disobeying a recent statute against riots; he 'disapproves of the silence in which our city authorities have passed over an enormous and high-handed violation of the laws'; and yet he 'cannot conclude from thence, that they either encouraged or approved of the riot!' Pray, how is this to be reconciled, supposing that they possess common intelligence and discernment? The truth is, their principles and feelings, like those of Mr. Gurley, 'go with the South'—it was an abolition meeting that was routed—and these two facts resolve the problem of their otherwise inexplicable conduct.

I leave the matter here. In speaking of the duty of the Mayor and his associates, I have had an exclusive reference to his oath of office, and the theory of the government he has sworn to maintain. My own views of human authority and human obligation have not been expressed.

N. B. In the Liberator of Nov. 27, 'ANOTHER ABOLITIONIST' comes forth in defence of the Mayor, in a well written communication. The writer goes even farther than 'AN ABOLITIONIST,' he not only apologizes for Mr. Lyman's conduct, but actually lauds it throughout! I am led to think that he is biased by some local considerations or personal respect; and that he would view the matter in a clearer light, even with a perfect knowledge of all the facts in the case, if it were the Mayor of New York, or of Philadelphia, whose conduct was under review; for, while there is a diversity of opinion in the community as to the amount of blame which ought to rest upon our Mayor, all calm and dispassionate observers, except this writer, at least so far as my information goes, agree that he is blame-worthy. I object to the defence put forth by 'ANOTHER ABOLITIONIST,' as being sophistical in its reasoning, and partial in its examination. He asserts that the Mayor 'dispersed the ladies because he could not protect them.' This is an assumption without proof; he did not read the riot act, nor order the mob to disperse, nor did he call out the military. But the writer asks—'Who are the military of Boston?' The citizens of Boston—and they were already assembled for the purpose of breaking up the meeting, &c. This is implicating all the inhabitants of the city, excepting abolitionists, in the guilt of the riot! At a liberal calculation, there were not more than four or five (some estimate as low as two) thousand persons present, and our population embraces more than eighty thousand! And yet the mob could not be dispersed, nor could the ladies be protected in broad daylight! Of those who assembled, how could the Mayor know who were drawn thither by motives of curiosity, and

who by motives of revenge?—or who would obey his voice, and equip themselves according to law, or who would disobey? He was bound to take nothing for granted, that implied the prostration of civil government, and the establishment of anarchy. UNTIL HE HAD FAITHFULLY PERFORMED HIS OATH OF DUTY TO THE LETTER; and then, if he found that he was indeed bereft of all power and authority, HE OUGHT TO HAVE VACATED HIS OFFICE. Our correspondent, in his anxiety to exonerate the Mayor from blame, implicates thousands of innocent persons—especially the whole body of MECHANICS and WORKINGMEN, who were quietly pursuing their useful avocations, and who might probably have rallied, at the call of the Mayor, for the dispersion of 'wealthy and respectable rioters.' A very few of their 'hard hands' would have finished the proceedings of these hand-in-glove gentlemen. But he is enlarged for neglecting his duty, and taking it for granted that his commands would not be obeyed!

Again: The writer says the meeting at Faneuil Hall 'was not called for the purpose of exciting a mob against the abolitionists.' But is this not quibbling? It was called for the purpose of denouncing us as incendiaries, traitors, and blood-thirsty men—at a time, too, when the whole country was raving in a delirium of excitement against us. It is true, no outrage was immediately committed upon us—but why? Simply because no opportunity fairly presented itself, until the meeting of the ladies. The orators of that day, (for so our correspondent confesses,) 'did all in their power' to produce an excitement [i. e. a mob] against abolitionists, 'by the most gross and wilful misrepresentations.' This excitement burst forth on the 21st ultimo.

Again: The writer, alluding to the ladies' meeting, declares that 'the Mayor had a right to disperse it, although it was a lawful meeting.' To which I reply, that he had no more right to do so, than he had to order them to fall down and worship him—neither a moral nor a legal right. But to sustain his declaration, 'ANOTHER ABOLITIONIST' begins his next sentence with a positive denial of its truth! for he says the Mayor is bound to protect every lawful assembly, and if he refuse to do so, [mark!] or compel such assembly to disperse, he and his subordinates become a mob. This logic is, that the way in which to protect a lawful meeting is to disperse it, instead of dispersing the rioters! Nay, it is assumed that if the Mayor finds the power of the mob to be superior to his own, he may do with the victims just as he pleases—put them in prison or otherwise! But humbly conceive that in no such case can they be the mere creatures of his will—that the power which is inadequate to the punishment of the guilty, cannot lawfully be applied to the involuntary imprisonment of the innocent. Deprived of a lawful protection, they have a right to defend themselves, whether they will take any, and what measures for their preservation. Under such circumstances, all that the Mayor can do is to advise them to disperse, to request, not to coerce them. But it is contended—his right in this case is the same as that of the officers of the Fire Department, to pull down a building for the purpose of stopping a conflagration: by the same right he removed the sign of the office.' The fatal defect in this illustration is, that there is not the slightest analogy between the two cases. By pulling down a building in the case alluded to, a safe, not a dangerous precedent is made: it violates no law, but is in obedience to its spirit: it is not performed under the impulse of fear, or weakness, or favoritism, but of a sound discretion and a benevolent judgment: it is a right which is lawfully vested in the chief engineer: the conflagration takes no cognizance of the act, for it has no instinct, intellect or soul. But, as no circumstances can ever justify a resort to mob-law, so none can ever justify a Mayor, or any other public officer, in complying with the demands of a mob, to the destruction of the property and the invasion of the rights of obedient citizens; for, by so doing, whether through weakness or choice, he becomes something more than a co-operator—yes, the very leader of the mob. At their bidding, he seizes the incendiary brand, and applies it in their presence to things which are sacred, and they greet him with cheers! He might as lawfully kill an innocent person, to prevent the illegal shedding of more blood. It is not for him to sit economically for the rioters: it is not for him to devise that good may come; it is not for him to dispense his oath of office, nor to violate law, nor to perform even an innocent act at the behest of a mob. All this our Mayor did in tearing down the Anti-Slavery sign, and if there be any thing alarming in a destructive precedent, if there be any saving virtue in law or order, if civil government be incomparably better than anarchy, if the destruction of a whole city by a mighty conflagration be as dust in the balance, in comparison with the preservation or the overthrow of lawful authority and the rights of man—then the removal of that sign was an enormous transgression, which gold and silver can never cancel.

Again: In my account of the riot, I said I was willing to believe that the Mayor, 'through very weakness of spirit,' ordered the sign to be taken down. 'ANOTHER ABOLITIONIST' thinks this 'is a conclusive proof that he was not a co-operator with the mob. The weakness of spirit was occasioned by fear. Would he fear those with whom he was acting in concert?' Without a paradox, most certainly. He was guilty in fearing, and guilty in obeying, that mob; and having both feared and obeyed it, he was a co-operator with it. A man is criminal, if, through fear, he violates law; if he commits a theft; if he swears falsely; if he abandons the path of duty; if he obeys the lawless; if he winks at violence. No threats, no perils, can authorize him thus to act, or make such conduct innocent. But our correspondent is unsound in his ethics, for he declares that 'a man should be judged by his motives, not by the effect of his actions, and if his motives be proved correct, he is guiltless.' Indeed! Then courts of law should be established to try motives not actions! But who, save God alone, can search the reins and try the hearts of men? Saul of Tarsus verily thought he was doing God service in persecuting the saints unto strange cities, and being exceedingly mad against them; and though he 'sinned ignorantly and in unbelief,' he never attempted to palliate his conduct, but styled himself 'the chief of sinners.' When men resort to persecution, to acts of public miracle, or to unlawful

means, for the attainment of any object, however praiseworthy, it is not possible that their motives can be good, pure, disinterested or holy, but they must necessarily be selfish, cowardly, partial and worldly. They may not, indeed, be so malignant as those which actuate others, but they are never in a just sense 'good.' Good motives must produce good fruits; and 'by their fruits ye shall know them.'

Again: The writer says that Mr. Lyman 'declared that the law should be supported, if it cost him his life.' But he neither lost his life, nor supported the law: hence his declaration was nothing but idle breath. Besides, how does our correspondent reconcile this with his own assertion, that the Mayor 'knew he could not give protection'? Was it not absurd for him to talk of supporting the law, when he knew that he had no power to do so? And when he had done so, how did he fulfil his promise? Why, forsooth, he 'supported the law' by causing me to be locked up in Leverett-street jail as a disturber of the peace, and by refusing to arrest or prosecute any of the rioters! We are told, moreover, that 'Mr. Lyman assured a rioter, who was endeavoring to force his way into the building, that he should not have Mr. Garrison, without passing over his dead body.' This may, or may not, be true; but, in the sequel, it was mere declamation.

Finally: Our correspondent thinks the erection of the gallows before my door was 'passed over properly, in silence,' by the city authorities! He thinks this ominous 'silence' must have been 'withering to the cowards' who erected it! Very withering, indeed! He thinks that 'to have made any enquiry into the matter would have been giving it an importance which did not belong to it, and would have been a great gratification to its authors!' Why, this is the very mode so sagely recommended by the redoubtable Dogberry, to get rid of those who disturb the repose of somnolent watchmen: 'Let the knaves run, and thank God for their escape. Yet even he would first command them 'to stand in the king's name.' But here is one, who calls himself an abolitionist too! who thinks the building of a gallows before the door of a citizen, 'by order of Judge Lynch,' is, in these days of riot and murder, quite a paltry affair, altogether beneath the official dignity of the city authorities, and worthy of profound silence!! To notice it would only gratify its authors, but not to notice it must wither them, although the deed is approved at home and abroad, especially by 'men of property and standing in all parts of the city,' who only lament that George Thompson and myself had not been actually suspended upon the gallows! This is as broad a license to the followers of the murderer Judge Lynch to pursue and finish their deeds of darkness and blood, as they themselves could desire. Hereafter, let the pickpocket, the house-breaker, the thief, the murderer, be withered by silence, and not gratified by the sight of a handbill or an advertisement, offering a reward for their detection! Let every Mayor study the advice, and imitate the example, of the worshipful Dogberry, and he will have no difficulty with rogues. Let them run! They become vain and confident when attempts are made to arrest them, but wither into nothingness if permitted to do mischief with impunity!

But I forbear. The facts are all before the public, and also the crimination and defence of the Mayor, and it is for them to give a just verdict. Far be it from me to do him any injustice: I have written thus copiously, because his is a public example, calculated to affect the conduct of the authorities of other cities, and therefore too dangerous as a precedent to be slightly passed over. The truth is, his guilt plainly consists in this—that he would not, or, at the best, he did not attempt to disperse the rioters in the manner pointed out by the statute. And why? Evidently because they were principally his friends and acquaintances—'men of property and standing from all parts of the city'—and he did not like to offend them, although he might not have wished to see them riotously assembled together. He shamefully truckled to wealth and respectability. If it had been a mob of working-men assaulting a meeting of the merchants, no doubt he would have acted with energy and decision, and they would have been routed by force. But broadcloth and money alter the case: they are above the law, and the imperious masters of poor men. We unto the city, and we unto the land, in which such distinctions obtain! And he is unfit to be vested with authority, who makes these distinctions the rule of his conduct!

Once more let me add, that I have condemned the Mayor only in view of the oath of office which he has taken, and of the form of government which he and the people believe they ought at all hazards to maintain. For myself, I ask no physical violence to be exerted for my protection, and I acknowledge no other government than that of the Most High.

MORE MONEY WANTED! Nothing but a liberal sum of money is wanted to effect, by means of agents, newspapers, tracts, &c. a speedy and entire change in public sentiment, that shall decree an immediate annihilation of the bloody slave system. The New-York papers affirm, that the London Anti-Slavery Society has sent over, in bills of exchange, money to the amount of £6,000 sterling, with a promise of £50,000 more, if it be deemed necessary! This, we are extremely sorry to say, is a hoax—but we trust our liberal-hearted brethren in that country, seeing that we have the name, will allow us to have the game also.

REV. DR. COX OF ENGLAND. It is stated by the New-York Herald, that this servile and timorous man brought over with him to this country, a case of English abolition tracts for gratuitous distribution; but as his ardent humanity and moral courage eked out at his fingers' ends on his arrival, his friends delayed passing it through the Custom House until he had sailed for England! If this be true, what consistency and courage does it manifest!

CONSEQUENCES OF SLAVERY.

Instead of listening to the warnings, rebukes, and entreaties of their only true friends, the slaveholders of the south, in exact imitation of the evil conduct of ancient Pharaoh, have wickedly increased, instead of lessening, the burdens of their guiltless victims, and greatly aggravated their miserable condition. For this new manifestation of their cruelty and oppression, they imprudently blame those who are beseeching them to let their slaves go free! Their conduct is perfectly suicidal. By multiplying the torments, abridging the privileges, and destroying the hopes of the slaves, they will inevitably drive them to desperation, and lead them continually to seek their emancipation by a bloody revolt. Already, it appears by the following article, a plot has been discovered among them in Georgia. The reader will observe that it is charged upon abolitionists, as one of their 'means of emancipation,' and the consequence of their 'machinations!' The editor of the Macon Messenger, is to be pitied for his folly and malignity, for he knows that he accuses them wrongfully, and that the slaveholders alone are guilty of those acts which must lead to insurrection and bloodshed.

Disturbances in Monroe.—The disaffection of the slaves was mostly confined to an extent of some ten or twelve miles, in the lower part of Monroe, (a thickly populated section) and had probably been communicated to a few others, at a greater distance, at a recent camp meeting. It was undoubtedly their object, although the arrangements had not been fully concerted, to have commenced an indiscriminate murder of women and children, on the day of the election, after the men had left home for the purpose of attending it. The final arrangement was to have been made, and communicated to the leaders and others, at a meeting house on Sunday, (the day before the election,) but the plot was fortunately discovered, only a day or two before that time. A considerable number of slaves were arrested, and many voluntarily confessed the facts, which confessions generally corresponded. We believe all have been set at liberty but three, who were tried on Thursday and Friday last. Owing to our laws, but little testimony could be offered, but what was legally objected to by the counsel employed to defend them. One was acquitted, and two were found guilty—one of them was sentenced to be whipped, cropped and branded—the other, who appeared to be the principal instigator, was sentenced to be hung. He is owned by a Mr. Youngblood, of Jones county, and we believe lives in that county, near the line of Monroe.

Nothing could surpass the madness and folly of such a movement; surrounded and mingled as they would have been, with a white population larger than the black, and in every way better provided for defence; they could have been put down and annihilated in a few hours. It is true they might have murdered a few helpless women and children, but here it would have ended.

These, we suppose, are the means of emancipation the Abolitionists are seeking to employ among us, and the fellow who will be hung, will be ranked by them, as was the slave Nat, the leader of the insurrection in North Carolina, with General Washington.

We have only to warn Tappan, Garrison, and the leading Abolitionists, that when the first drop of blood is drawn in the South, through their machinations, that they may speedily expect their retribution, in blood for blood; and would to God that the blood of a few Abolitionists would be the least evil that will accrue to the country from such an event—Macon Georgia Messenger.

VERMONT LEGISLATURE.

Several petitions, relative to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, were presented to the Legislature of Vermont at its late session. No act was taken decisively upon this subject,—to the reproach of that body it is told. We copy the following paragraph from the legislative proceedings. Mr. SABIN deserves the applause of all good men for his zeal and manliness. His resolution to persevere in his labor of love and work of mercy is expressed with admirable determination. 'If baffled here, he would not desist: he would labor this year, and next year, and so long as he lived—he would devise new plans, make every effort, &c. His is the spirit, and may his be the triumph of a WILBERFORCE!

'The House resumed consideration of the resolution of instructions relative to slavery in the district of Columbia. Mr. Sabin supported the resolution in remarks at some length. He deemed slavery not only an evil, but inconsistent with the declaration of independence, with the declaratory parts of the state constitutions, and a disgrace to the country. So far as it was tolerated in the district of Columbia, it was a matter in which Vermont was concerned—as intimately concerned, as strongly bound to legislate in the matter, as was any slave state. This mode of procedure was one way of remedying the evil of slavery—it was a lawful, a peaceful, and a constitutional remedy; a remedy which might be pursued, and which ought to be pursued now, for the reason that every delay was but continuing so much the longer that which was wrong. He believed it due to the delegation in Congress to instruct them on this question—it was proper that they should know the views of their constituents, and that they should have assurance that their constituents would sustain them in every effort. Mr. S. said he might be baffled here by constitutional scruples and all the ingenious arguments which legal gentlemen might resort to—but if baffled here, he would not desist; he would labor this year, and next year, and so long as he lived—he would devise new plans, he would make every effort, whether here or at home among his constituents, to remove slavery from the land. Mr. Buck followed against the resolution, and moved to lay it upon the table. After a few remarks of Mr. Sabin, Mr. Walker moved to dismiss the resolution, and called for the yeas and noes: Mr. Goodale opposed the motion—yeas 86, noes 34.

whether mobs may not before long, find it convenient to treat Bank Directors, and Honorable Mayors, and Judges, and Representatives, with as little ceremony as they have been taught to observe towards abolitionists; and whether on the whole, it is not as much for the interest of the rich, as it obviously is of the poor, that life and person and property should be under the protection of law; and also whether it is not better that the liberty of speech should as far as is necessary, be controlled by courts and juries, than by a Utica committee, [however rich and honorable] enforcing its decrees by the summary action of a mob.

But whatever others may think and do, let us, my dear sir, and those who act with us, remember that we shall shortly be arraigned before a very different tribunal than public opinion. Let us in all our measures have a constant reference to the will of our Maker, and an accountability to Him. If required by 'gentlemen of property and standing,' or even by iniquitous laws, to refrain from speaking what duty commands us to speak, let us answer as did the Apostles under similar circumstances, 'whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye;' and let us like them, submit cheerfully and peaceably to the consequences of this reply.

Our opponents by their violence and usurpation have foolishly identified our cause with that of civil and religious liberty. They are afraid to let the people think and examine for themselves. Hence their efforts to bind the mind, to lock the lips, to fetter the press. If they succeed, a grim despotism must take the place of that glorious republic which our fathers founded. But they cannot succeed, for every reflecting and disinterested republican, however strongly he may dissent from our principles and measures, must see and feel that if we are 'put down' by such means, he holds his own liberties, not by the charter of his country's rights, but by permission of the demagogues who may for the time being, command the mob. The yeomanry of our State, our farmers and mechanics, are not only the most numerous, but they are the most virtuous portion of our population; and as they are the true friends of liberty, so I trust they will be its efficient protectors.

I have the honor to be, Rev. Sir, your very respectful and obedient servant,

WILLIAM JAY.

REV. OLIVER WILMORE,
Cor. Sec'y. N. Y. S. A. S. S.

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1835.

NOTICE TO OUR BOSTON SUBSCRIBERS.

On the 1st of January next, the Liberator will be discontinued to all the subscribers in this city who are in arrears for the past year.

Owing to the delinquency of a former carrier, some mistakes will probably occur, which will be promptly corrected by applying at the Anti-Slavery Office, 46 Washington-street, 3d story.

HENRY E. BENSON, Gen'l Agent.

December 12.

SENTENCE OF REV. GEO. B. CHEEVER.

Our readers will recollect that, at the June term of the Court of Common Pleas, this pure-minded and fearless reformer was tried for a libel on Dea. John Stone, (in the famous case of Dea. Giles,) and convicted thereof; and that he appealed from the verdict of the jury to the Supreme Court. The case came up before this Court on the 4th ult. Chief Justice Shaw being upon the bench. Mr. Cheever retracted his technical plea of not guilty, and said he would no longer contend with the Commonwealth. He read a very able defence which he had committed to writing, and in which he solemnly reiterated his innocence of the charges preferred against him in the indictment. Hon. Peleg Sprague also spoke in his defence, and both were replied to by the Attorney General, who said it was the object of the law of libel 'to protect the character of individuals from the ravages of civil, political, moral or religious persecution and reproach.' Upon this I have simply to remark, that it is a law (setting aside its chameleon-like character and all its palpable absurdities) which is in direct opposition to the requirements of the gospel of Christ; for, according to the letter and spirit of that gospel, in no case are Christians authorized to make or to execute such a law, either to protect the reputation of the innocent, or to punish guilty defamers; but every person whose character is aspersed, is imperatively bound by his allegiance to Christ, to forgive his calumniator as freely and fully as he hopes to be forgiven by his Father who is in heaven; and whenever he resorts to human laws to punish him for his slander, or for any other outrage, in so doing he rejects both the precepts and the example of his Redeemer, and declares that he is unwilling to undergo reproach in his master's service. All penal enactments of men are just so many conventional expedients to gratify human selfishness, retaliation and power—to avoid loss and suffering and persecution—to set aside implicit reliance and unwavering faith in the promises of God—and to get rid of the burden of the cross. I do not believe that, under the gospel dispensation, the followers of a buffeted and crucified Saviour are either required or authorized to punish those who transgress against them, either in word or deed, however calumnious the word, or cruel the deed; consequently, I believe that all those who 'name the name of Christ,' and profess to be his followers, and to be willing to follow him through good and through evil report, through flood and fire, as lambs in the midst of wolves, ought never to trust in an arm of flesh for protection, but should wholly 'cease from man'—ought never to prosecute, or imprison, or put to death, for any injury done to them by their enemies. This theory, and the practice of it, must be received and habitually exemplified by the followers of the Lamb, or the kingdoms of this world will never become 'the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.' Thus do I strike at the root of all war, of all litigation, of all retaliation, of all legal chicane, of all political injustice: thus do I make it needful for Christians to 'fill up the measure of Christ's sufferings'; and thus do I vindicate the all-sufficient and perfect government of God.

Now, let us look at this libel case. Here is one whose business it is to preach 'the unsearchable riches of Christ'—a minister of the gospel, without spot or blemish in his moral character, combining the simplicity and gentleness of a child with uncommon energy and power of mind, beloved by his flock, and respected by all upright men who know him personally, and a zealous supporter of

the great leading reforms of the day. He has long espoused the cause of Temperance, with a benevolence proportionate to its humanity, a zeal worthy of its inestimable value, and an ability admirably suited to its importance. As streams may be traced to a fountain-head, so may the sufferings, horrors and blasphemies of drunkenness to the distillery and grog-shop, and consequently to the distiller and vender of 'liquid damnation.' It is now a settled point, among the genuine friends of temperance throughout the land, that the traffic in ardent spirits is a flagrant immorality—hence, that the traffickers are dangerous members of society, and practically the enemies of their species. This doctrine is every where promulgated,—from the pulpit, in public halls, in newspapers, pamphlets and tracts,—by men of tried patriotism, of undoubted philanthropy, and of fervent piety—and it is a doctrine which no man may forbid them to preach. This doctrine Mr. Cheever vividly set forth in his article upon 'Dea. Giles' Distillery.' He drew his bow at a venture, and it pierced through the joints and marrow of Dea. Stone of Salem. In his defence, he explicitly declares that the article was never written or intended for Dea. Stone, or any particular individual; that the object of it was to portray, in as strong a light as possible, the real nature and consequences of the manufacture of ardent spirits in a distillery; and that the conception of the character of the deacon was purely imaginary. Knowing the benevolence and purity of Mr. Cheever's life, who but base men, and the enemies of the temperance reformation, will discredit his solemn declaration, and make him a liar?

But let us suppose the worst—that he is a wolf in sheep's clothing; that his moral character is bad; that, under the mask of humanity, he is endeavoring to gratify a malignant spirit against particular individuals; and that, in the words of the Attorney General, he has been guilty of publishing 'an atrocious libel' upon an estimable citizen of Salem. Now, who is this citizen whose character he is said to have wickedly traduced? He is professedly a disciple of Christ—of him 'who made himself of no reputation,' and suffered wrongfully the reproaches of men, and humbled himself to the death of the cross, and in his dying moments could exclaim, 'Father, forgive them'—of him, whose language is 'But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.' Then came Peter to him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? till seven times? Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times: but, Until seventy times seven.* Again: this injured citizen is a member of the visible church of Christ—yea, one who holds the office of deacon in that church. [I speak of his profession and office, without meddling with his theological views.] Now, then, how has he followed the injunctions, and imitated the example of his Lord? He has had compassion on his erring brother? No. Has he returned good for evil? No. Has he, whose prayer is, 'Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors,' extended his forgiveness to his traducer? No. Has he rejoiced, and been exceeding glad, because he has been treated like the prophets, and like Christ, and like the apostles? No. Has he sustained himself with the consolation, that great is his reward in heaven? No. He has been filled with bitterness and rage—eager to obtain the revenge of an anti-christian enactment—and utterly averse to forgiveness. He has dragged his clerical brother into court, and there prosecuted him, and finally thrust him into prison! Now let Dea. Stone pause, tremble, and repent; let him treasure up in his memory this solemn declaration:—'if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' 'For if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.' 'For this is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even heretofore ye called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously.'

One word as to the ethics of the Attorney General, upon which I commented at some length in the Liberator of July 4th, 1835. In his view, human laws seem to be regarded as the Alpha and Omega of human obedience. It is an atrocious crime 'to assail an individual in the prosecution of a business which is permitted by the laws of the land.' 'The business of a distiller is protected by law, and a man has no more right to attack him for carrying on that business, than any other that is lawful.' 'Can there be a safer mode of determining what is right or wrong, than, is it lawful?' 'The defendant had assumed to be wiser than the law,' &c.

We talk of the infallibility of the Pope, and of the sinful indulgences which he sells for money—but we are guilty of as great an absurdity, and commit much sin, in taking the Statute Book of the Commonwealth as our authority and justification for doing or not doing, for following or refusing to follow, the practices, customs, and obligations of society. Whatever that code allows, is right—whatever it prohibits is wrong. If it says, 'Hang the Quakers,' they ought to be hanged. If

it says, 'The slave-trade is a legitimate branch of commerce,' it is so. If it says, 'Slaves are lawful property,' it is right to possess, buy and sell them. If it says, 'Distilling rum, gin, brandy and whiskey is as immaculate as any other business,' the oracle is infallible. The Attorney General seems to have no higher notions of morality—no other principles of action—no better motives to obedience. It is true, he 'admits that horrid and iniquitous consequences result from the operation of distilleries. But the question is, how is the evil to be stopped? Not by permitting individuals to libel down every man engaged in the business—not by the clergyman in his study—but by the legislature, the common voice of the whole people, and until the legislature has stigmatized the business of distilling as immoral or criminal, those who pursue it have as much right to be protected as those of the profession to which Mr. Cheever belongs.' This is the logic of the courts, but how to reconcile it with common sense I know not. When the Attorney General talks about libelling down every distiller, he means, exactly describing their guilt, and the awful responsibility which rest upon them; for Mr. Cheever has been guilty of no other offence. The Attorney General does not attempt to show that Mr. C. has erred in his estimate of the moral aspect of distilling, but he says the law allows Dea. Stone to deluge the community with streams of physical woe and moral death, and therefore nobody has a right to regard him as a criminal! But, we are told, the evil is not to be stopped by the clergyman in his study! Indeed; that will depend upon the power and truth of his productions, and not upon the *ipse dixit* of the Attorney General. Something may go forth from his study which shall revolutionize the entire sentiment of the nation, and modify the whole statute-book. It is too late in the day, after the illustrious examples of the potency and triumph of individual effort, such as Luther, Knox, Wicliffe, Sharpe, Howard, Wilberforce and Clarkson, in Europe; and Lundy, Everts, Tappan, Edwards and Hewitt, in our own country, have given for the encouragement of the friends of liberty and truth—it is altogether too late to disparage or sneer at the labors of any reformer, however lowly or obscure. But the Attorney General tells us that the legislature must stigmatize the traffic first, and then individuals may do so afterwards! What a land of liberty is ours! and what an amiable tyrant is the legislature! Pray, how is that body to be moved except by the people? and how are the people reformed but by individual effort, even by 'the clergyman in his study,' as well as by editor in his office, and the politician in the public hall?

I come now to the sentence of the Court—which was, that Mr. Cheever be imprisoned thirty days in the common jail, and give bonds in the sum of 1000 dollars for keeping the peace two years, and pay the costs of court! This sentence will excite amazement wherever it is known: it confers no disgrace upon Mr. Cheever, but much infamy upon the Commonwealth. I can assure my dear persecuted brother, from joyful experience, that

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage.

He will be happy in his incarceration, and I sympathize and rejoice with him, at the same time I pity the guilty man, who has succeeded in obtaining a faithful servant of God into a common jail.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

We give below all that the President has said, in his Message, respecting the Abolitionists, the outrages committed against them, and the violation of the Post Office. He has taken for granted all the current misrepresentations of our purposes, and intimated a disposition to concur in the enactment of a law, similar to that already propounded by the Postmaster General, and enforced under his sanction. We look forward with high expectation of the good results, which will flow from the discussion, that will doubtless be brought on in Congress, by this part of the President's Message. In connection with the unfounded charge against us, adopted by the President without examination, that we have attempted to excite the slaves to insurrection, we refer our readers to the unequivocal testimony of Dr. Channing, given in the last extract that is made from his work, in another column of this paper.

In connection with these provisions in relation to the Post Office Department, I must also invite your attention to the painful excitement produced in the South, by attempts to circulate through the mails inflammatory appeals addressed to the passions of the slaves, in prints, and in various sorts of publications, calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and to produce all the horrors of a servile war.

There is, doubtless, no respectable portion of our countrymen who can be so far misled as to feel any other sentiment than that of an indignant regret at conduct so destructive of the harmony and peace of the country, and so repugnant to the principles of our national compact, and to the dictates of humanity and religion. Our prosperity and happiness essentially depend upon peace within our borders—and peace depends upon the maintenance, in good faith, of those compromises of the constitution upon which the Union is founded. It is fortunate for the country that the good sense, the generous feeling, and the deep-rooted attachment of the people of the non-slaveholding states to the Union, and to their fellow-citizens of the same blood in the South, have given so strong and impressive a tone to the sentiments entertained against the proceedings of the misguided persons who have engaged in these unconstitutional and wicked attempts, and especially against the emissaries from foreign parts who have dared to interfere in this matter, as to authorize the hope, that those attempts will no longer be persisted in. But if these expressions of the public will, shall not be sufficient to effect so desirable a result, not a doubt can be entertained that the non-slaveholding States, so far from countenancing the slightest interference with the constitutional rights of the South, will be prompt to exercise their authority in suppressing, so far as in them lies, whatever is calculated to produce this evil.

In leaving the care of other branches of this interesting subject to the state authorities, to whom they properly belong, it is nevertheless proper for Congress to take such measures as will prevent the Post Office Department, which was designed to foster an amicable intercourse and correspondence between the members of the Confederacy, from being used as an instrument of an opposite character. The General Government to which this great trust is confided, of preserving inviolate the relations created among the States by the Constitution, is especially bound to avoid in its own

action, any thing that may disturb them. I would therefore, call the especial attention of Congress to the subject, and respectfully suggest the propriety of passing such a law as will prohibit, under severe penalties, the circulation in the Southern States, through the mail, of incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection.

ALARMING! FRIENDS OF THE UNION, BE VIGILANT! The Richmond Whig makes the following alarming disclosure:—We further learn, and we challenge contradiction, that the Anti-Slavery Society had several secret prayer meetings! What an enormity! what a gross violation of an immaculate Constitution! what positive evidence of a cut-throat and an incendiary spirit! what a daring infringement upon State rights! But the patriotism of the nation is not yet wholly extinct: Salem has set a noble example in routing one of these praying circles, 'by force and arms,' and thus thrown even her glorious days of witchcraft into the shade! Ought there not to be a dissolution of the Union, if the Northern Legislatures neglect or refuse to pass laws, forbidding secret prayer meetings among the friends of human freedom?

The conclusion of the article on the conduct of the Mayor of Boston and several other editorial articles will be found on the first page.

PROSPECTUS OF THE LIBERATOR. VOLUME VI.

The Liberator is identified with the rise and progress of the Anti-Slavery cause. Five years ago, with but a single ally, (the Genius of Universal Emancipation,) it commenced the warfare against American Slavery, and in favor of the immediate emancipation of more than two millions of our fellow-countrymen, unjustly held in abject servitude. At that period, the conflict seemed to have reference exclusively to the freedom of our colored population, but it has recently assumed a new and more alarming aspect, affecting the safety, happiness and liberty of the entire white population. The south demands of the north, the passage of laws, making it a treasonable act for any of our citizens to speak or print any sentiments in opposition to her vast system of oppression, robbery and soul-murder; and she declares that nothing else will satisfy her! If the struggle, therefore, was ever strictly a partial and local one, it has ceased to be so any longer: it is now a struggle between Right and Wrong—Liberty and Slavery—Christianity and Atheism—Northern Freedom and Southern Task-masters. The great question to be settled is not whether 2,500,000 slaves in our land shall be either immediately or gradually emancipated—or whether they shall be colonized abroad or retained in our midst—for that is now a subordinate point; but whether freedom is with us—THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES—a reality or a mockery; whether the liberty of speech and of the press, purchased with the tools and sufferings and precious blood of our fathers, is still to be enjoyed, unquestioned and complete—or whether padlocks are to be put upon our lips, gags into our mouths, and shackles upon that great palladium of human rights, the press; whether the descendants of the pilgrim fathers, the sons of those who fell upon Bunker Hill and upon the plains of Lexington and Concord, are to fashion their thoughts and opinions, and to speak or be dumb, and to walk freely or with a chain upon their spirit, and to stand upright or to crouch the knee, and to obey Jehovah or worship Mammon, at the bidding of southern slave-drivers and oppressors; whether the Constitution is to hold the broad banner of its protection over the head of the humblest citizen, or whether it is a piece of worthless parchment, a mere counterfeit note of the Bank of Liberty; whether the truths of the declaration of Independence are still to be acknowledged as 'self-evident,' and valuable beyond all price, or whether they are to be regarded as ingenious fictions and mere 'rhetorical flourishes'; whether Equity, and Law, and Public Order are to be enforced, irrespective of political or religious opinions—or whether Jacobinism, Anarchy and Confusion are to reign in our midst, to the prostration of all that makes life a blessing and society desirable; whether citizens, guiltless of crime, are to walk without molestation, and to repose without danger, and to assemble together without hindrance—or whether they are to be seized with impunity by lawless ruffians, dragged ignominiously through the streets, thrust into prison, and forced to fly from the endearments of home, for self-preservation; whether, in short, we have a country—a free country—in deed and in truth—or whether we are living under a despotism more intolerable than Greece or Poland ever felt, and as bloody and atheistical as was that of Robespierre. It is a question of life and death to this nation—of Christian freedom and abject bondage—that we have now to decide. We rejoice and thank God, that it assumes such a shape, and is presented at such a crisis. The people—blinded and misled for a time—will in the end see and decide aright. Wo, then, to their deceivers! A tide of indignation shall sweep them from the high places of power, and sink them into the lowest depths of infamy, with Pharaoh and his hosts.

It is a conceded point, on the part of the southern slaveholders, that slavery and the freedom of the press cannot exist together. One or the other must be given up—and that, too, speedily! The issue we do not fear. The truth that we utter is impalpable, yet real: it cannot be thrust down by brute force, nor pierced with a dagger, nor bribed with gold, nor overcome by the application of a coat of tar and feathers. The cause that we espouse is the cause of human liberty, formidable to tyrants, and dear to the oppressed, throughout the world—containing the elements of immortality, sublime as heaven, and far-reaching as eternity—embracing every interest that appertains to the welfare of the bodies and souls of men, and sustained by the omnipotence of the Lord Almighty. The principles that we inculcate are those of equity, mercy and love, as set forth in the glorious gospel of the blessed God—without partiality and without hypocrisy, and full of good fruits. We can neither suffer ourselves to be enslaved, nor can we see millions of our own countrymen pining in a worse than Egyptian bondage, without exerting all our intellectual and moral power to effect their emancipation.

The sixth volume of the Liberator commences on the 1st of January, 1836. Hitherto, the paper has not had an adequate support. We make our appeal to all who love liberty for themselves and the world. Will they help us by their subscriptions, to continue the warfare against slavery, until every fetter is broken, and every slave set free? Nothing but the want of means to continue it, shall cause us to stop the Liberator, let the consequences, or penalties, or prohibitions, be what they may.

GARRISON & KNAPP.

ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC FOR 1836.

A few hundred copies of this excellent tract may be had on application at the Anti-Slavery Office. As nearly the whole edition has been disposed of, those who have not already supplied themselves with this necessary, and in the present instance, truly valuable appendage of the household library, would do well to apply immediately.

LITERARY.

EARTH.

BY WILLIAM C. BRYANT.

A midnight black with clouds in the sky,
I seem to feel upon my limbs the weight
Of its fast brooding shadow. All in vain
Turns the tired eye in search of form; no star
Pierces the pitchy veil; no ruddy blaze,
From dwelling lighted by the cheerful hearth,
Tinges the flowering summits of the grass;
No sound of life is heard, no village hum,
Nor measured tramp of footstep in the path,
Nor rush of wind, while on the breast of Earth
I lie and listen to her mighty voice:
A voice of many tones—sent up from streams
Thrusting the gloom from woods unseen,
Swayed by the sweeping of the tides of air,
From rocky chasms, where darkness dwells all day,
And hollows from the great invisible hills,
And sounds that edge the ocean, stretching far
Into the night—a melancholy sound!

Oh, earth! dost thou too sorrow for the past,
Like man, thy offspring? do I hear thee mourn
Thy childhood's unreturning hours, thy springs—
Brief time of genial airs and melody—
The gentle generations of thy flowers,
And thy majestic groves of olden time,
Gone with the tribes they sheltered? Dost thou wait
For that fair age of which the poets tell,
Ere yet the winds grew keen with frost, or fire
Fell with the rains, or spouted from the hills,
To blast thy greenness, the virgin night
Was guiltless and salubrious as the day?
Or haply dost thou grieve for those that die—
For living things; that tread awhile thy face,
With love of thee and heaven—and now they sleep,
Mixed with the shapeless dust on which thy herds
Trample and graze? I too must grieve with thee
O'er loved ones lost; their graves are far away,
Upon thy mountains; yet while I recline,
Alone in darkness on thy naked soil,
The mighty nourisher and burial place
Of man, I feel that I embrace thy dust.

Ha! how the murmur deepens! I perceive
And tremble at its dreadful import. Earth
Uplifts a general cry for guilt and wrong,
And heaven is listening. The forgotten graves
Of the heart broken turn forth their plaint.
The dust of her who loved and was betrayed,
And him who died neglected in his age;
The sepulchres of those who for mankind
Labored, and earned the recompense of scorn;
Ashes of martyrs for the truth, and bones
Of those who, in the strife of liberty,
Were beaten down; their corpses given to dogs—
Their names to infamy—all find a voice.
The nook in which the captive overtoiled,
Lay down to rest at last, and that where lie,
Childhood's sweet blossoms, crushed by cruel hands,
Send up a plaintive sound. From battle fields,
Where heroes madly drove and dashed their hosts
Against each other, rises up a noise,
As if the armed multitudes of dead
Stirred in their heavy slumber. Mournful tones
Come from the green abysses of the sea—
A story of the crimes the guilty sought
To hide beneath its waves. The glens, the groves,
Paths in the thickets, pools of running brooks,
And banks and depths of lakes, and streets and lanes
Of cities, now that living sounds are hushed,
Murmur of violence and robbery,
And fraud committed from the first of time.

Here where I rest, around me lie the tales
Of Italy, that ancient nurse of men,
And field of the tremendous warfare raged
'Twixt good and evil. Who alas, shall dare
Interpret to men's ears the mingled voice
From all her ways, and walls, and streams, and shores,
And hills and fruitful fields? Old dungeons breathe
Of horrors veiled from history; the stones
Of crumbling amphitheatres, where flowed
The life-blood of the warrior slave, cry out;
The fane of old religions, the proud piles
Reared with the spoils of empires, yea, the hearths
Of cities, dug from their volcanic graves,
Report of human suffering, and shame,
And folly. Even the common dust, among
The springing corn, and vine-rows, witnesses
To ages of oppression. Ah! I hear
A murmur of confused languages,
The utterance of nations can no more—
Driven out of mightier, as the days of heaven
Chase one another from the sky. The blood
Of freemen, shed by freemen, till strange lords
Came in the hour of weakness, and made fast
The yoke their children wear, appeals to heaven.

What, then, shall cleanse thy bosom, gentle earth,
From all its painful memories of guilt;
The overwhelming flood of the renewing fire,
Of the slow change of time? that so, at last,
The horrid tale of perjury and strife,
Murder and spoil, which men call history,
May seem a fable, like the inventions told
By poets, of the gods of Greece. Oh, thou,
Who sittest far beyond the Atlantic deep,
Among the sources of thy glorious streams,
My native land of groves! the newer page
In the great record of the world is thine;
Shall it be false? Fear, and friendly hope,
And envy watch the issue; while the lines,
By which thou wilt be judged are written down.

FLORENCE, 1835.

SLAVERY.

An inscription under the picture of an aged negro woman.

BY JAMES MONTGOMERY, ESQ.

Art thou a woman? so an I, and all
That woman can be, I have been or am,
A daughter, sister, consort, mother, widow,
Which e'er of these thou art, oh, be the friend
Of one who is what thou canst never be;
Look on thyself, thy kindred, home and country,
Then fall upon thy knees and cry 'thank God
An English woman cannot be a Slave.'
Art thou a man? Oh, have known, have loved,
And lost all that to woman can be—
A father, brother, husband, son, who shared
My bliss in freedom, my joy in bondage;
A childless widow now, a friendless slave,
What shall I ask of thee, since I have nought
To lose but life's sad burden; nought to gain
But heaven's repose; these are beyond thy power.

Me thou canst neither wrong nor help, what then?
Go to the bosom of thy family,
Gather thy little children round thy knees,
Gaze on their innocence, their clear full eyes
All fixed on thine: and in their mother, mark
The loveliest look that woman's face can wear,
Her look of love, beholding them and thee.
Then, at the altar of your household joys,
Vow, one by one, vow altogether, vow
With heart and voice, eternal enmity
Against oppression by your brethren's hand:
Till man nor woman, under Britain's laws,
Nor son, nor daughter, born within her empire,
Shall buy, or sell, or hold, or be a Slave.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TRUST IN GOD IN PUBLIC COMMOTION.

We have been comforted and edified by the perusal of a sermon preached at Hanover, N.H., October 11, 1835, by HENRY WOOD, A. M., Pastor of the Congregational Church at Dartmouth College. As it is quite brief, and cannot fail to encourage the hearts of our persecuted abolition brethren, we copy it below, entire. It is written with uncommon boldness of style, originality of thought, and power of language, and it shows that its author has a spirit that soars above the storms of life up to the quietude and peace of heaven. The very first sentence of his sermon betakes just observation and innate stability:—'Self-possession, alike in the peace and commotion, the safety and the peril of the times, is the attribute of a great mind.' It is a grand commencement. The sermon was requested for publication, by 'a number of young gentlemen, members of College'—and the author, in readily complying with their request, says that it was 'prepared in the usual course of pastoral labor—in haste—and without the remotest anticipation of an existence beyond the breath which uttered it'—but he submits it to their disposal, 'if they should think it will subserve in any measure the great interests of our country, now jeopardized, or the greater interests of our common humanity, now outraged and trodden under foot by a self-glorying, free, and christian people.'

SERMON.

JOHN, 14: 1. 'Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God; believe also in me.'

Self-possession, alike in the peace and commotion, the safety and the peril of the times, is the attribute of a great mind. Feeble spirits tremble and how before the storm; the courageous and large minded stand erect; and if they do not decide, yet they fear not its impotent howlings: they can look abroad over wreck and ruin, and yet in patience possess their souls. Such were the emergencies into which the disciples were advancing, when the Saviour gave them the warning and encouragement contained in our text. Times of trouble were approaching; their Master and Leader was to be taken away; but the storm which fell upon him first in the onset, would not spend itself there: when it had prostrated the Shepherd, it would pass on undiminished to the sheep. Still let them be steadfast, confident, happy. They trusted in God; let them repose the same confidence in him. He possessed the fulness of the Godhead, even in that weak and suffering form; his goodness could not be distrusted, nor his promises violated, nor his arm of might resisted. The disciples heard his words, and with cheerful hearts went forward to danger and reproach, to sufferings and death. 'None of these things move me,' they could say, when the stars seemed to fight in their courses, and the powers of heaven were shaken.

But as convulsions, and perils, and agitations, were not confined to the age of the first disciples; so the virtues they practised, and the consolations they needed, are required for all the people of God in the different periods of their pilgrimage. There is much to trouble a sensitive heart, a tender conscience, and a pious mind, in a world of whirl and commotion like this, where nothing but unshaken confidence in God, and repose upon the promises and arm of our watchful and sympathising Saviour, can preserve from nearly distraction.

The present state of our country is one of deep interest to the philanthropist and christian. The minds of the community are intensely excited: nor is it a momentary impulse, but a feeling deep, stern, and pervading. 'Principles of evil sit hovering over the land, with a rapid levitation of swift ascendancy and power. The strife and violence of parties, the resistance of law, the assumption of it by mobs and individuals, the demands made upon the community, prohibiting the discussion of questions of duty and morality and the circulation of opinions; the public rewards offered for the abduction of offensive citizens, are only a few indications of the internal fires burning at the centre of our system, sufficient to make the good man turn pale even in the contemplation.

1. Consider some of the causes of anxiety and alarm.

I. Think of the political excitements, and sectional jealousies, and party warfare, which threaten more and more to disturb our peace, and terminate our national history. Favored as we are with a government the most voluntary in its origin, and the most perfect in its theory, still it may become the most disastrous in its operation, the most fatal to its issue. Governments less free, which popular opinions cannot reach, nor innovations disturb, move on within their old landmarks, whatever obstacles may oppose. Our own is like the aspen leaf, which trembles and flutters at the slightest breeze. In its theory it is excellent; in its history it is excitement; nothing is fixed, nothing is tranquil. The fever burns; the wheels smoke; competition chafes; and the worst as well as the best passions of our nature are brought out, and kept in malevolent exercise. All past history of popular government teaches us to expect excitement and commotion still; the rage of restless passions, and the conflicting of opposite interests. What then may be anticipated, when these conflicting interests are multiplied to an indefinite extent, and the arena of life is stretched out from ocean to ocean; when competitors are more numerous, principle less active, the passions more violent, and power more consolidated, more easily wielded, and of course more crushing? The winds will roar, and the waves dash, the earth shake, and the heavens lower, unless he is present, who can say with effect to the raging elements, Be still. As the history of popular governments is a record of excitement, commotion, passion, rivalry, revenge, God only knows what is in store for us of evil, unless his own hand shall pilot us through. The christian living in peace, and loving the undisturbed walks of seclusion, security, and thoughtfulness, may well be troubled, as he is compelled to tread on these burning cinders; and when he would lift up his whole heart to God in meditation and love, is distracted and wretched, through his participation in the common interests, and sympathy with the common wretchedness of his race.

2. Nor can the christian contemplate the deeds of violence and blood, committed under a mock administration of justice, in contempt of laws, and outrage upon our common humanity, without emotions of the deepest distress. Without trial, without jury, subjected only to suspicion, protesting their innocence, and only asking proof of their guilt; in the hour of midnight, and by the hands of men claiming the christian character, and boasting of their patriotism, individuals not a few, have been exposed to disgraceful treatment, and condemned to cruel punishment and death. The land is steeped in the blood of citizens, invoking the protection of the law, but invoking in vain; who were subjected, not only to lawless violence, but to mockery and insult in the hour of dying. In vain is it to say, they were hangers, they were incendiaries, they were abolitionists. They were men: they were fellow citizens; they were our brothers; living under a government of law, and entitled to its protection; and in spite of an informal and mock administration of justice, they were murdered men, as much as though they had fallen by the hand of the assassin. No one has the right of interpreting the law, or inflicting its penalty,

apart from the constituted courts of justice: be there one or many who does it, they are alike murderers. These acts of summary injustice will go down to history as acts of savage violence, and indelible blots on our national character; and whoever writes the Decline and Fall of the American Republic, will make his first date with the prostration of law in 1835. The shout of approbation may be raised by the infuriates over the victims they have outraged or executed, amid the orgies of midnight or the gleam of torches; the moral sensibilities of the community may be too much dulled to feel horror at the tale of atrocity; but blood cries out from the ground; and blood from the recking garments of those who murdered their fellow citizens; and that shout of exultation was nothing but the moan of law and of rational liberty, as they gave up the ghost. Can the christian know this, see this, and his heart not be troubled?

3. Contemplate also the dominion of mobs to which our land is now subjected. When the reign of law has passed away, the reign of terror begins, whether we are under the despotism of one or of many heads. Legislation is idle, and courts but mockery, when the public virtue is too feeble to sustain the laws, and the terror cast upon the community becomes the protection of violence, and a license for further injustice. We may boast of our free institutions; but better were the serfs of the soil in Poland or Russia, than the footfalls and sport of brutal mobs in a land falsely called free. Before them, nothing is sacred, nothing is safe. The products of industry perish; the torch kindles the peaceful dwelling; works of taste and art are consumed before this modern Vandalism. Women and infancy have no protection; the sanctuary needs a shelter; the horns of the altar cast off those who apply for refuge; and life itself is poured out in our streets like water. Where in our country is one spot exempted from this tyranny? Not the city; not the country; not the village. The virtue and moral influence of our country are insufficient to intimidate crime, and repress outrage. The most secluded retreats, the most peaceful and religious communities, alike with the city inundated with the refuse of creation, all succumb to the majesty of the mob, to pull down or build up, to kill or to make alive. Even the respectable, the moral, the professedly religious, in not a few instances, have given their presence to outrage; and if they did not lead on, at least applauded those who did. Even the worst designs should not be suppressed by trampling upon the law. No injury can be inflicted equal to that which leaves property and life without protection; nor can any course be so injudicious as that which, in putting down an enemy, teaches him a lesson and puts in his hand a weapon, he will not be unable or unwilling to turn against ourselves. But the countenance of better men has stripped the mob of its atrocity. The silence, instead of the indignation loud and repeated in every quarter, of the virtuous and the principled, has made the mob, not the robber and the assassin, but the needful though rough friend, who has come to our rescue in this hour of our extremities. Thus has the venerated form of our government received a wound within a few months, deeper than all her foreign adversaries could inflict, and which a century cannot heal.

4. One of the most certain and affecting indications of enfeebled virtue and a corrupted sentiment, in these times of trouble, are the public rewards held out for assassination and abduction. It is well known that this is the case with regard to certain offensive individuals in our country, upon whose heads a price is set, or whose abduction is to be compassed to places where death would be as certain and speedy as their presence. Were this done by a solitary man—were he to fix a price upon the head of his foe, and proclaim it through the public papers—the daring would be evidence of corrupted morals and prostrated law; but it is done by multitudes, and in the public meetings, and in our most intelligent and virtuous cities. Papers are lodged at the public warehouses, and the community are invited to subscribe for the head which contains thoughts they do not like. Nor is the bloody proposal met with that spontaneous and universal burst of horror and indignation it might be expected to call forth: it is an item of news, read and forgotten, instead of being pondered as an indication of deep and rapid moral degeneracy, such as the world has not witnessed. Thus here put forth, there is an entire insecurity in our walks, and at our homes, at the altar and our firesides, from the dagger of the assassin. Death follows us wherever we go, and lodges with us wherever we dwell. Must not the christian's heart be troubled?

5. The demands made in respect to free inquiry, and the investigation of moral subjects, form another distressing indication of the times upon which we have fallen. It is gravely enjoined by not a few, that our community should cease to think, and speak, and write, upon abstract principles—upon questions of right and duty, and points of moral obligation, as lasting as God's law, as dear as humanity, and precious as the soul; or should any dare to do this, some three or four thousand should be sacrificed in one offering upon the altar of avarice and injustice. With as much propriety might it be enjoined that the Bible should cease to be read in our houses, and Paley to be studied in our schools. Men will think, and speak, and write, upon all the subjects of morality and duty, even when a thousand intimidations are held out, and a thousand hecatombs of human victims demanded for the altar. Let the press be muzzled on one subject, and how long will it be free upon any other? Let inquiry be crushed in one direction, and who will give it security in another? Who shall decide for us what to speak, and think, and write, when once we have admitted the right of others to control us? Our security is not in shutting out of sight great moral subjects, questions of right and duty, but in freely investigating, fully understanding, and cheerfully obeying them. We must know our duty and follow it, wherever it leads, or the government of a righteous God is so constructed as to give us no protection.

6. We only add, which indeed is the occasion of much of the solicitude and commotions already noticed, THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY, which cannot but continue to furnish excitement, and awaken the fears, and engross the attention of our community, till the evil shall cease to exist. On this subject, we would not speak as partisans of any particular measures; we would look upon it, and speak of it, as of any other great moral question, and as though it related not to ourselves, but some distant nation with which we have nothing to do. It cannot be denied, that more of frightful omen is connected with this question than with any which ever agitated our country. It is a question of appalling interest and doubtful issue, and yet must be approached. The boatman is awakened by the thunder of the cataract; he wisely looks on either side for a landing; the cliffs rise high, the waters dash and foam, forbidding his approach. Ahead, he sees the mist, he hears the roar, like the voice of some unearthly one calling for his prey. He despairs of the shore, and sits idle in his boat, while he is borne downwards to destruction every moment he delays escape. Thus it is with the subject of slavery: it is dreaded, but must be approached: the evil is bearing us to destruction whilst we are waiting for some heavenly-directed wave to bring us to the shore. They greatly misjudge, who regard the subject as of accidental interest, which may be put over to other times, providing exciting causes can be suppressed, which exist among ourselves. Much as we may condemn the rashness, the denunciation, the language, the measures, the spirit, of any of the leaders of emancipation, and wish only for that which is cool, cau-

tious, judicious, kind and just; yet let us not deceive ourselves with the thought, this cause is confined or committed only to them. Let every abolition society be disbanded, every press muzzled, every tongue silent in our land; what will follow? No thought, no interest, no prayer, no effort, for more than two millions of our fellow-men, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, held in unrighteous bondage? As well may you lay your hand upon the crater of a volcano to suppress its eruptions, and quiet its heaving sides, as think the extinction of these domestic causes will abate the excitement, or remove the peril. It is not the cause of individuals or societies; of Garrison, Thompson or Tappan. It is the cause of the oppressed the world over; the cause of humanity, the cause of God; and as well might we turn atheists, denying the providence of God, as believe that such injustice and oppression will be permitted always to go unpunished. Silence, if you please, the leaders, lectures, and agents of emancipation; but you do not silence O'Connell. You hear his voice from the Emerald Isle, and the house of parliament, pronouncing in no measured terms, our disgrace and condemnation. England is against us; civilization is against us; and barbarism itself is against us. Even our boasted Declaration is against us. The names of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and the remembrance of the forty years war they waged on their way to victory; the fetters of eight hundred thousand miserable bondmen, sundered in one day; the literature of the age, and the ethics of the age; the benevolence, the moral sentiments, the piety of the age, are all against us. It cannot be, we shall stand in a struggle like this, condemned by the civilized world, by God, by our own lips. If even Jefferson, with all his skepticism, said in reference to this subject, 'I tremble for my country, when I remember God is just;' let not christian men be slower to recognize the government of a holy God, or be less prepared for those sleeping thunderbolts which for two hundred years he has curbed in his hand behind the dark cloud; but which, soon as he lets them loose, and they roar, and the skies kindle, and the earth heaves, will be the voice in which he speaks his mind on this subject to men. May the timely repentance of our whole nation procure us pardon; and the collected wisdom and prudence of the judicious and good, and the justice and liberality of all our citizens, provide us a way of escape! But how can the christian contemplate this fearful subject, and not be troubled in heart? He will weep and pray in secret places, as he cries to heaven: Spare thy people, O Lord! and give not up thy heritage to blood and reproach.

II. Having shown some of the causes of disquietude to the christian's heart, as they are seen in the aspect of the times, let us turn to the consideration of our own duty, and the grounds of our confidence.

1. Let the christian remember that such excitements and commotions have already been. The times are not altogether strange upon which we have fallen. The earth has always been rocking since she was thrown into her orbit, and the waves rolling, and men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking for the things which are coming upon the earth. Think it not strange, concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you. The christian is only walking the common road of the righteous, through this vale of conflict and tears; and participating with all those, who, through much tribulation, have entered into the kingdom of heaven.

2. Such commotions and excitements have often resulted in good to humanity and Zion. The world is a great Sodom, over which the sea of death has settled, sending out pestilence every where, unless disturbed occasionally by purifying breezes. What agitations in the time of the peaceful Saviour! What rocking of the world at the period of Luther! What excitement and commotion in the time of Charles and Cromwell! How were the very windows of heaven's wrath opened, and the fountains of hell broken up, in the French Revolution! But all came out well; well for humanity—well for Zion. Such, we doubt not, will be the result now. The Lord will pilot his cause through the waves and the storm though it may be on tears and on blood, it will be moored in the port.

3. These commotions and excitements make a part, and a very considerable part, of our moral trial. It belongs to God to appoint the means of this trial, whether they are diseases, poverty, persecution, domestic afflictions, or public calamities. In all, we should recognize his hand conducting us through the successive steps of our probation, eliciting our character, and preparing us for our final destination. They try the faith of the people of God; they awaken a spirit of dependence, prayer, and heavenly mindedness; they teach us to hold earthly things lightly; they bring back the church to greater purity in spirit and discipline, and tear off the mask from those who say they are Jesus, and are not, but are of the synagogue of Satan. Wherefore then should a living man complain? a man for the punishment of sins? Shall we receive good from the hands of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil? He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.

4. Learn also the duty of the most scrupulous observance of the public laws, and the most careful avoidance of whatever may give our influence to violence and wrong, or tend to increase the general excitement. If anarchy must prevail, our institutions perish, our laws wither, let others bear the guilt, who seem to seek the glory. Let us wash our hands in innocence, as we gaze upon the fair structure, reared by our fathers, falling in ruins.

5. Our hope is in God. Cheering is it in these extremities, to acknowledge a truth at other times most unwelcome: THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH. He is the protector of the interests of humanity, as well as of the cause of religion.—We have his oaths and promises to which we may repair, until these calamities are overpast. Zion is graven upon the palms of his hands; her walls are ever before him. God is in the midst of her; God will help her, and that right early. Ye believe in God; believe also in me. Let us then rush to the cross; press the Saviour closer to our hearts; and with a stronger, more earnest faith, appropriate all the promises he has made, and upon which in all ages he has encouraged his people to hope. Let us approach him in our prayers, that when our voice is unheard in the din, and strife, and excitement of parties, we may yet have power with God and prevail. Of what value at this day is the prayer of every humble disciple, when argument is unheard, and reason futile, and tears unavailing, upon the ungovernable passions of men? Christian, save yourself in the ark of divine mercy, forget not the land of your fathers; forget not the kingdom of your Redeemer; forget not the generations which are to be wretched or happy, saved or lost, in successive ages, upon these shores, once of piety and freedom! Lift up holy hands without wrath or doubting, that God would pity, forgive, direct, and save!

The doctrines recently breathed by the defenders of the Union and Boston mobs, strike directly at the root of the supremacy of the people. Are not the people competent to judge for themselves of the truth or falsehood of any doctrines? If the views of the abolitionists are erroneous, is it to be supposed that they will ever obtain a majority? If they are right, ought they not to obtain a majority? And in either case, how gross is the aristocratic impudence which says to the plain men of the community, 'you are not competent to judge of these matters, and therefore we will prevent you from hearing about them, whether you will or no!'—Franklin Mercury.

PROBE THE WOUND.

Our divisions cannot be healed with untempered mortar. We must probe the wound deep before it can be cured. We must be lacerated, good is taken from the evil and the evil from the good. Long enough has our country been enlaced—the best, the most enlightened and the most happy people on the earth. Long enough have our orators and politicians told us that we are the gods of creation. To our sorrow have we been surfeited with national pride, and satiated with national vanity. Instead of being the most grateful and most stable people on the globe, as we ought to be, we are the most thankless and most fluctuating. Instead of growing gray in indistinctness, as our good Fathers prayed and wished for, we are threatened, even in our infancy, with a speedy dissolution. Revolutions, Reign of Terror, Limited Monarchy, and the Fall of our dearest bought Republic, are talked of with the utmost sang froid. Law and reason have been tumbled from their throne while violence and madness have forced their way to the bench of assumed justice. In sincerity we ask the fellow citizens if the last few months have not exhibited the darkest spot in our history, since the days of the American Revolution. Where is our respect for the Laws? Where the hopes of our effect? Where is the memory of our Fathers? Where the recollection of our posterity? Better, far better, leave our children in the tomb than to dwell in a country rocked and nursed in lawlessness and commotion. The foundations and pillars of our country must be sustained by us or they cannot be supported by them. In our fall we may anticipate their overthrow and in our triumph against brute force and licentiousness, hope for their success.

In the present state of the people, the question may be put, do we despair of our country? Heaven forbid! Despair is a word unworthy of an American. Our fathers knew it not, and if it has been registered by us, let it be blotted out till that day, when the sun shall set forever upon us—till God shall have forsaken us, and we have proved to the world that we are more fit to be a nation of slaves than a nation of freemen. We hope every thing, and say to our countrymen that though now

—Destruction sweep these lovely plains,
Rise, fellow men! our country yet remains!
By that dread name, we wave the sword on high,
And swear for her to live!—with her to die!

Let but the tiger ferocity of our citizens be tamed—let Will and Passion give place to Reason and Patriotism—let there be a universal forgiveness for the past and our country may be what till lately it has been, an example to all the kingdoms of the Earth.—Haverhill Gazette.

In the present excitement about slavery, we have frequently stated, we take no sides. But when we see the leading presses of a political party arrayed against the peaceable assembling of a few defenceless females, it is time for free presses to speak out. It is time to be awake—to denounce in the strongest terms these outrages against law and order, and the base instigation of them, under the name of 'Constitutionalists.' Let it be understood who are at the bottom of these outrages; let it be known that it is the first step of the Northern Nullifiers towards introducing the pernicious doctrines of the South into the New-England States. The people should be on their guard against them—should speak in a voice of thunder, and let the Boston Atlas and Commercial Gazette, understand in the plainest terms, that they are not disposed to sanction the infamous doctrines of Lynch Law, Nullification, and mobocracy; that however much they may be disposed to censure the conduct of the Abolitionists, they are not yet prepared to subvert the constitution and laws for the sake of putting them down.—Bridgewater Republican.

The London Morning Herald introduces an article from the American papers, respecting some of the recent outrages under the Lynch code of the south and southwest, with the following paragraph:

'Will it be believed in Christian Europe that the society of assassins, the most terrifying scourge that ever held the world in thralldom in ages happily passed away, is once more revived in republican America, under the title of the "Lynch Club"? We could smile at the vanity—we could pity the ignorance of our trans-Atlantic brethren, but we shrink with horror from their atrocious dabbling in human blood. Where is general Jackson? Where is the law of America? Or are we to presume that the system has already reached a point at which it is inaccessible to attack? Has it so far poisoned the moral feelings of the people as to render it a matter of personal danger to the executive to arrest its career? We have seen enough lately in the American papers to perceive that society was almost resolved into its first elements, but we were by no means prepared for the following "Card" issued by the Lynch Club of America.'

Civil and Religious Liberty.—Mr. O'Connell, in accepting a public dinner offered to him at Manchester, for his services to the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty, thus defines each:

'Civil Liberty is nothing but justice reduced into action. It drives the unjust, the partial judge, the underworked public officer, the partial judge, the squanderer of the public purse, from power, from station, from the opportunities of doing wrong. It gives to the people, equal laws, good laws, cheap laws. It leaves to every honest man the full enjoyment of all his property not indispensably required to defray, in the most economical manner, the general government of all. It scruples to levy a tax almost as it would scruple a robbery; and it has its bases in the utmost possible extension of popular control over all public functionaries, with one only, and a safe exception.

'Religious Liberty is, I own it, more dear to me still. Religion is the most important and awful concern of human existence; but its tenets are matters between man and his Creator. It is the great Creator who alone can see the hearts of men; and he alone can judge how far each of us is sufficiently sincere, and sufficiently cautious in the adoption and maintenance of his religious belief. Our fellow men have nothing to do with it. The law of man is impious, I would say blasphemous, when it usurps the province of God, and in the pride of its usurpation dares to coerce conscience and to attempt to compel belief. I feel that in vindicating freedom of conscience, I vindicate our common Christianity from the foul stain of persecution.'—Manchester Guardian.

Arkansas Territory.—The inhabitants of this territory, have decided by a considerable majority, to make an application for admission into the Union the next session of Congress. Of the population, amounting to a little more than 50,000—9388 are slaves. Another Missouri question will have to be decided at the next session, whether Arkansas shall be a slave or a free State. Those that think the north have nothing to do with the question of slavery, ought to remember that it was northern votes that made Missouri a slave state, and if the same curse is made 'hereditary' in Arkansas, it will be done by the representatives of the people at the North.—Ohio Observer.